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ACTION EUR-25

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INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9452

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AMCONSUL ZAGREB

C O N F I D E N T I A L BELGRADE 2527

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, YO

SUBJECT: YUGOSLAVIA ON EVE OF TENTH CONGRESS

1. SUMMARY: AS PARTY HEADS INTO CONGRESS IT CAN CLAIM TO HAVE REASSUMED GUIDING ROLE IN YUGOSLAV SOCIETY. TITO AND PROSPECTIVE COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP TO FOLLOW HIM STILL HAVE MUCH TO DO TO INSURE SMOOTH AND SUCCESSFUL APPLICATION OF SELF-MANAGEMENT SOCIALISM TO GOVERNMENT, BUT PROGNOSIS FOR CRISIS-FREE SUCCESSION TO TITO HAS BEEN IMPROVED SUBSTANTIALLY BY PARTY AND CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES UNDERTAKEN IN RECENT MONTHS AND YEARS. END SUMMARY.

2. TITO'S "LANDMARK" TENTH LCY CONGRESS OPENS MAY 27 IN BELGRADE, JUST TWO DAYS AFTER "DAY OF YOUTH" FESTIVITIES IN JNA STADIUM HERE HONORING PRESIDENT'S 82ND BIRTHDAY. PARTY MEETING WILL CONTINUE TRIUBTES TO OLD MAN, PROCLAIMING HIM LCY PRESIDENT WITH UNLIMITED TERM OF OFFICE. CONGRESS WILL PROVIDE GIANT SHOW OF YUGOSLAV MOTTO IN ACTION -- BROTHERHOOD AND UNITY -- AND WILL HAVE GREATER SIGNIFICANCE THAN MOST CONGRESSES IN PAST (LAST WAS IN 1969), CAPPING AS IT DOES TWO AND A HALF YEARS OF LEADERSHIP'S EFFORTS TO RESTORE, DISCIPLINE INSIDE ORGANIZATION

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AND TO BUILD UP ONE MORE PARTY'S GUIDING ROLE IN YUGOSLAV SOCIET.

EMPHASIS WILL BE ON CONTINUING NEED TO OVERCOME REGIONAL/INDIVIDUAL OPPOSITION AND TO INCREASE WORKER AND YOUTH PARTICIPATION.

3. PRESIDENT TITO'S POLITICAL HOUSE APPEARS TO BE IN RELATIVELY GOOD ORDER:

(A) NEW CONSTITUTION IS IN EFFECT WHICH, UNDER WATCHWORD OF SELF-MANAGEMENT SOCIALISM, GREATLY INCREASES WORKER INVOLVEMENT IN GOVERNMENT THROUGH ALL LEVELS, ALTHOUGH NOT NECESSARILY PARTICIPATION IN REAL DECISION/MAKING. AT SAME TIME CONSTITUTION INSURES PARTY'S GUIDING ROLE AT EVERY STAGE OF ADMINISTRATIVE AND LEGISLATIVE PROCESS.

(B) TRIMMED-DOWN SFRY PRESIDENCY OF EIGHT PLUS TITO (AS HEAD OF PARTY) CONSISTS OF EXPERIENCED, TESTED MEN WHOM PRESIDENT CAN TRUST TO CARRY ON GENERAL LINE OF TITOIST SOCIALISM, INDEPENDENCE AND NONALIGNMENT IF HE SHOULD BECOME INCAPACITATED OR WORSE AND HIS PERSONAL LEADERSHIP AND AUTHORITY ARE NO LONGER AVAILABLE. KARDELJ HAS SPECIAL ROLE IN THIS COLLEGIUM. HIS CLOSEST ASSOCIATE OF TITO FROM WARTIME PARTISAN DAYS TO HAVE SURVIVED POLITICALLY. FURTHERMORE, HE HAS PLAYED LEADING ROLE IN FRAMING POLICIES AND PHILOSOPHIES ON WHICH TITOISM IS BASED -- INCLUDING SELF-MANAGEMENT AND NONALIGNMENT. UNTIL LAST WEEK (I.E., PRIOR TO HIS NOMINATION TO FEDERAL PRESIDENCY) KARDELJ'S OFFICIAL TITLE WAS SIMPLY THAT OF MEMBER OF LCY PRESIDUM. HOWEVER, HIS UNOFFICIAL "RANK ORDER," SIGNALED IN MAY WASY OVER CONSIDERABLE PERIOD OF TIME, HAD COME TO BE NO. 2 IN ACTUAL HIERARCHY.

(C) PARTY ITSELF PRESENTS PICTURE OF COHESION AND AUTHORITY AS CONGRESS OPENS. IT HAS UNDERTAKEN CAMPAIGNS AGAINST NATIONALISTS, AGAINST LIBERALS SEEKING DECENTRALIZATION OF PARTY ITSELF, AND AGAINST CENTRALIST WHO STAND A/OR RETURN TO STATIST AUTHORITARIANISM. PURGE IN CROATIAN PARTY 1971-72 WAS FOLLOWED BY LESS DRASTIC, MORE SELECTIVE PERSONNEL CHANGES IN SERBIA, VOJVODINA AND ELSEWHERE, PARTICULARLY FOLLOWING TITO/EXECUTIVE BUREAU LETTER TO ALL PARTY MEMBERS IN LAT 1972. (MEASURE OF CAUTION PARTY LEADERSHIP HAS SHOWN IN TREATING CERTAIN SPECIFIC PROBLEMS IS THAT IT TOOK YEAR AND A HALF TO ACHIEVE EXPULSION FROM PARTY OF FORMER SERBIAN LC LEADERS NIKEZIC AND PEROVIC.) PARTY CLAIMS TO HAVE CONFIDENTIAL

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MADE MODEST PROGRESS IN ATTRACTING MORE WORKERS AND YOUNG PEOPLE INTO ITS RANKS. RECRUITMENT THEME WAS IMPORTANT COMPONENT IN ALL REPUBLIC/PROVINCE PARTY CONGRESSES LEADING UP TO SUMMIT LC MEETING.

4. AS IN PAST, IMPORTANT PARTY POLICY GUIDELINES WILL BE SET OUT BY TITO AND CLOSEST ASSOCIATES, WHO HAVE NOW BEEN LARGELY INSTITUTIONALIZED IN MEMBERSHIP OF NEW SFRY PRESIDENCY. IN

TRANSITION PERIOD INCREASINGLY GREATER DECISION-MAKING POWER CAN BE EXPECTED TO MOVE TO PRESIDENCY FROM TITO HIMSELF. GUIDELINES FROM TOP WILL BE TRANSLATED INTO ACTION BY NEW EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF TWELVE WHICH REPLACES EIGHT-MAN EXECUTIVE BUREAU. PARTY PERSONNEL CHANGES ARE ALWAYS CLOSELY HELD BEFORE THEY ARE ANNOUNCED, BUT MOST YUGOSLAV AND FOREIGN OBSERVERS EXPECT STANE DOLANCE TO REMAIN ON EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. HE HAS PROVED TO BE ABLE ADMINISTRATOR, AND NOT LIKELY HIS TALENTS WOULD BE DISCARDED. EVEN ASSUMING DOLANC BECOMES SENIOR OF THE SIX PARTY SECRETARIES, APPEARS TO US HIS PERSONAL POWER WILL HAVE BEEN DIMINISHED BY FACT FIVE OTHER SECRETARIES SERVING WITH HIM. (THERE ARE REPORTS HERE THAT HE HAS BEEN SOMEWHAT SQUELCHED FOR GETTING HIMSELF TOO MUCH INTO LIMELIGHT AS SECRETARY OF EXECUTIVE BUREAU, SO MUCH THAT HE WAS BEING TALKED OF AS TITO'S HEIR APPARENT...WHICH WAS NOT WHAT LEADERSHIP HAD IN MIND.) WE LOOK FOR NO DIMINUTION IN POWER OF TOP PARTY EXECUTIVE BODY OVER ALL, HOWEVER. TITO LEADERSHIP UNDOUBTEDLY WELL AWARE THAT IMPLEMENTATION OF PARTY DIRECTIVE IN VARIOUS SECTORS OF YUGOSLAV SOCIETY -- POLITICS, ECONOMY, EDUCATION, MEDIA, CULTURE -- REQUIRE STRONG TEAM IN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, ONE EXERCISING REAL AUTHORITY. NEW LCY LEADERSHIP WILL RESEMBLE MAKE-UP OF ITS PREDECESSOR BODY AND WILL CONTINUE POLICY OF REASSERTING STRONGER ROLE FOR LC WITHOUT REVERTING TO CENTRALIZED, AUTHORITARIAN REGIME, A MOVE WHICH WOULD BE INCONSISTENT WITH "SELF-MANAGING" SOCIALISM AND OUT OF KEEPING WITH DIRECTION TAKEN BY YUGOSLAV SOCIETY FOR AT LEAST PAST FIFTEEN YEARS.

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